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614 may safely regard them as one clan. This is possibly the case, since the Lou JINACA left their homes in Rengyan to conquer their present tribal area. On the other hand they may represent a distinct line of descent from Denac. There is not the same certainty as there is for the history of the children of Kir, a part of whom journeyed from their home on the Bahr-el-Ghazel to the tribal areas of the Eastern Jikany. The GAAJOK, GAAJAK, GAAGWONG and GAAGWANG major lineages are found both among the Eastern Jikany and the Western Jikany, and they still belong to one clan, since a man of the Eastern GAAJOK lineage may not marry a woman of the Western GAAJAK or GAAGWONG lineages. It is possible that in time the GAAJOK lineage of the GAT GAN KIIR clan will split away from the GAAJAK lineage and that two separate clans will be formed by fission. The Nuer themselves speak as though this may happen since they say that a GAAJOK man may "not yet" marry a GAAJAK woman. "*Ngote thieka*," "they are still close" (in relationship), say the Nuer, suggesting that it will one day be possible, a suggestion in keeping with their acceptance of a scheme of clans all ultimately descended from Gee. I have found that informants lay great stress on the fact that Gee bisected a bullock and thus enabled the clans descended from him to intermarry whereas Kir did not perform similar ritual, with the result that intermarriage between the clans descended from him is prohibited. Nevertheless I cannot produce a sure example of clans splitting into two or more exogamous lineages. Even when political fission takes place as between the Gaajok and the Gaajak the clan maintains its unity, and a GAAJOK man and a GAAJAK man are still members of a single exogamous clan.

IV.

641 614 619 All tribesmen live in the same country. A man may emigrate to another country, but if he settles there he and his children become members of the tribe among whom he has settled. When we speak of the Lou and Rengyan we speak of the people who live in Lou and Rengyan countries. Clansmen on the other hand do not all live in the same country, the great majority of them may do so but not all of them. Thus probably the majority of JINACA live in Lou country and Rengyan country, but by no means all of them live there. Many JINACA live scattered among other tribes. Moreover the number of JINACA clansmen who live

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in Lou country and Rengyan country forms only a small proportion of the total population of Lou and Rengyan tribesmen. Again, Gaajok country contains a dominant element of GAT GAN KIIR clansmen of GAAJOK lineage, but they are dominant in the Gaajok tribe on account of their traditional ownership of the country and not on account of numerical superiority, for they probably compose only a small minority of the tribe. Also not all the GAAJOK live in Gaajok country in the Eastern Jekany area, since a large part of the lineage live in the Gaajok primary tribal section of the Jekany tribe to the west of the Nile and smaller lineages of the GAAJOK are scattered throughout most, if not all, Nuer tribes. The GAAJOK form an excellent illustration of this difference between clan and tribe, since the GAAJOK of the Eastern Jekany and the GAAJOK of the Western Jekany cannot obviously be fellow tribesmen on account of the vast area which separates their countries and since they never act together in any collective undertaking. On the other hand they are equally descended from Majok the son of Kir and hence are all members of the same lineage of the same clan. For this reason they are all brothers and sisters and forbidden to intermarry.

But though the clan is not a territorial group nevertheless many clans are largely localised. Thus the descendants of Mathiang are mainly living in the two countries of Eastern and Western Gaajak. The descendants of Nac are mainly living in Lou and Rengyan countries, and the descendants of Wär are, I presume, mainly living in Gaawär country. But this by no means holds for all clans. There is no tribal area in which the JIMEM mainly live or in which they have the position of owners of the soil, but they are scattered far and wide throughout the length and breadth of Nuerland. The same is true of the KIEK, JIDIET, BEEK and JIKUL, and a number of other clans.

When a clan is mainly localised in one tribal area it forms an aristocratic element there. The JINACA of Lou country lived originally with the JINACA of Rengyan country, but they split off from them and conquered Lou country from the Dinka. Here they were the first occupants, or more correctly the strongest element among the first occupants, and became "owners" of the country. Any other clansmen who came to live in Lou tribal area had to attach themselves on to the JINACA. The GAT GAN KIIR clan moved from their homeland to the west of the Nile and conquered the land, which they own to-day, on the eastern side of the

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the ancestor of one lineage and the ancestress of the other (as with the JINACA and the JIMAC), but is owing also to the fact that their two sections continue to intermarry all the way down their line of descent, since the marriage of a man of lineage A into lineage B does not prevent his cousin marrying into lineage B also. In course of time the two lineages become so intermarried that it is impossible for them to continue to intermarry without breaking exogamous rules. Thus I was told that the GAALIEK lineage (*diel*) and the JEMAC lineage (*rul*) in the Mor moiety of the Lou tribe had reached a stage when a GAALIEK man could no longer marry a JEMAC woman, though he might marry a descendant of a JIMAC woman two or three generations removed.

As we shall see later, captured Dinka are adopted into Nuer families, and as they have no cattle they necessarily depend for sustenance and marriage upon the family of their adoption. They forge descent through the men who have adopted them and their lineage becomes grafted on to the genealogical tree of descent of their foster fathers so that their children count for most purposes as *gaat twot*. Often *rul* and *jaang* who are poor will come and live near a generous man of whom it is said " He is poor and has nothing because he has given everything away "—a great compliment. Such dependants will be provided with marriage-cattle by their patrons and they will bring their wives to the *wec* of the man who has befriended them, and here their children will be brought up as children of the *wec* and count almost as *gaat twot* since they were born through the cattle of a *tut*.

A lineage of *diel* split up as a result of internal dissension and also because a man of personality likes to found his own independent settlement where he will be an important person rather than remain a younger brother in a group of influential elder relatives. This, Jok told me, is a reason why the Nuer are dissatisfied with the present arrangements made by the Government, which have as their object the creation of local " chiefs " whose position tends to become formalised, permanent, and hereditary. To them this is a rigid interpretation of political power based on a territorial rather than personal basis which stabilises the control of a single man or lineage in a country where every Nuer carries his baton in his knapsack. It does not follow that a man must be a *dil* to gain influence among his fellow villagers. He may be a *tut* of some other lineage than the dominant lineage of his tribe who has been able to

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Were a man of another village or of a different kin to call him by the title of *Jaang* it would be a serious matter because the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the remark. To them he is *demar*, my brother, and they will quarrel with anyone who calls him *Jaang* and there may be bloodshed. They will ask "Who is a Jaang? Did your father seize him or did ours?"

Just as a captured Dinka suffers from few disabilities owing to his birth so he enjoys most of the privileges of a free-born Nuer. The man who has adopted him will give him cattle with which to marry a wife, and he will be thus enabled to marry according to the same rules of priority as if he were a real son. If he is older than a real son of the family he will marry before him. A and B are real sons of X, and C is an adopted Dinka whose age comes in between the ages of A and B. The order of marriage will be A, C, B. When A and B's daughters are married, C, the Dinka, will receive the cattle of a *gwanlen* (paternal uncle) just as if he were an ordinary brother to A and B.

Dinka who have been taken in war and brought up by a Nuer family will eventually be formally adopted and given *buth* (*ca lath buthni*, he is given relationship). One youth, Wan, told me that the man who brought up a captured Dinka would give him *buth* (relationship), but two other informants, Tutrial and Jok, disputed this statement, saying "He will not do so because the Dinka is his son, so why should he?" The son of this man, or more likely his brother's son (*gat gwanlen*) will, however, invite his Dinka boy, when grown-up and initiated into manhood, to come and tether a bullock in his kraal and kill it. The bullock is first of all invoked by the owner of the kraal and he addresses the spirits of his clan and tells them that this man is now a member of his family. This ceremony is regarded as being very much the affair of the spirits who guard your clan and your own special lineage. It is your duty to let them know if you are adopting a new member into your kin because all members of your kin are under their care. Another informant said that the bullock is killed at the entrance to the sponsor's byre and that the Dinka's body is smeared with the undigested contents of its stomach while the spirits of the clan are asked to accept him into it. After this ceremony the Dinka becomes a member of your lineage, he becomes a relation of yours (*gwan buthni ka ji*) and the spirits of your lineage will go to him and be his spirits also. After the bullock has been invoked it

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563 597 727 [43] is sacrificed and cut up and the son of the house and his Dinka " brother " each take half the skin and the *juak*, and the Dinka takes the neck. On all future occasions when animals are killed by his relative by adoption he will be able to claim his share of the meat on the grounds of relationship (*see* Section No. VI). It seems that, whilst before this ceremony of being given relationship he was treated in all respects as a member of the family, he did not count as a member of the lineage, at any rate for purposes of division of meat, which goes only to relatives of the owner. He will now regard himself as a " member of the clan " of his " father." *Caa Juak tem*, they have cut through the scrotum, he is now a member of their clan.

563 597 727 641 We may, at any rate for the moment, speak of these captured Dinka who go through a ceremony of adoption into the lineage of their captor as becoming affiliated to Nuer clans in the framework of which they trace their descent and for which they receive the various ritual emblems which mark a clansman. It is almost impossible, without a prolonged stay in a Nuer cattle-camp, to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer origin. I have for weeks considered a man to be of pure descent, that is to say by direct filiation of blood, when in reality he comes from the stock of a captured Dinka. Such a man who had a Dinka grandfather who was adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a member of the lineage as the grandson of the man who gave his grandfather *buth* and is so regarded by other members of his lineage and by everybody else. Thus when a man gives you his genealogy as A, son of B, son of C, son of D, son of E, and another man gives you his genealogy as X, son of Y, son of Z, son of Q, son of E, you naturally imagine that D and Q were two sons of E and that they have founded separate lines of descent, one of which has produced A and the other of which has produced X. There is no means of knowing that in point of fact Q was a Dinka captured by E and given *buth* by his son D unless someone tells you the true state of affairs as a piece of information which he thinks will be of interest to you, a most unlikely happening in Nuerland. Moreover, you cannot very well go about asking people whether their grandfathers were captured Dinka and if you did they would be very unlikely to tell you. You can, of course, always ask other people but the only people who are likely to be fully acquainted with a man's ancestry are members of the same lineage and they in all probability will not tell you. The consequences of wholesale adoption of Dinka into

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Nuer lineages belongs more to a study of kinship than to the plan of the present paper. Its importance may be gauged by the fact that probably some 75 per cent. of the Lou tribe are of Dinka descent, belonging either to families sprung from a man who has been *lath buthni*, given relationship, in a Nuer lineage, or to the families which have retained their full status as independent Dinka lineages.

This is the second type of Dinka domiciled among the Nuer to whom I made reference earlier. In the old days, and still to-day, Dinka frequently came to live among Nuer of their own accord and were always well received and allowed to settle and become members of the village community. There are a number of reasons which may have influenced a Dinka in taking this step. Along the Nuer-Dinka border intermarriage was frequent and Dinka would come to live near their married sisters and perhaps settle there and bring up a family who are Nuer in everything but descent. In the same way if a Nuer captured a Dinka girl and brought her up and gave her in marriage he might expect a visit from her brother, who would perhaps settle in his sister's village, in which case his brother-in-law would certainly give him one or two cows to start a herd. Many Dinka families came into Lou country to escape hunger and the other attendant miseries to which they had been reduced by constant Nuer raiding which left them cattleless.[1] Moreover there must have been a very large element of the original Dinka owners of country to the east of the Nile absorbed into the social system of their Nuer conquerors. They cannot all have been dispersed, and the probability is that what happened during the Nuer invasions was similar to what was happening along the Nuer-Dinka border right up to the present day when raiding and intermarriage occupied long lulls between waves of fresh invasion.

[1] I was told that it sometimes happened that a poor Dinka would come and live with a rich Nuer and would help to herd his cattle and cultivate his gardens so that the Nuer, being gratified, would give him a blind or lame daughter whom no one wanted to marry. This is apparently considered a proper marriage, since the Dinka presents his wife with a skirt (*yot*). My informants said that, of course, no one would give a nice girl to a Dinka in this way.

(To be continued.)

641 cattle as they call it), they certainly ought not to object
651 when the Nuer raid the Dinka and take their cattle.

641 The Nuers learn to trust the District Commissioner and to respect his decisions, even though they be averse to their cause. They quite often prefer having him to settle a case rather than their Nuer chief. And yet one of the most respected and best loved of District Commissioners was killed by a Nuer recently.

164 In the spring of 1929 an epidemic of what was at first
744 thought to be smallpox was reported in several villages. There were no fatalities, which is very unusual in Nuerland, for smallpox is very virulent and takes a heavy toll of life. The Nuer is accordingly much afraid of this disease. A clinic asked the doctor at Malakal to send vaccine, which he did, and many were vaccinated. The fact that the Government had sent vaccine for them and wanted to help them made a great impression upon the Nuer. Thus they realized that the Government did have something they needed and wanted to give it to them.

000 In time they may learn that they not only need what others can give them, but that they need to make their contribution to the world and to life outside of their own tribe.

411 There are not many guns among the Nuer. They depend upon the spear as their weapon, and it is usually not far from its owner's side. From boyhood on they are adepts at using the spear.

177 In the winter of 1928–9 the District Commissioner who was stationed at Nasser as his head-quarters had three aeroplanes come to Nasser. They stayed three days, their pilots being his guests. He wanted his Nuer to see aeroplanes at close range. He invited the people to take rides in them—the object being to show them that, while the aeroplane could be used for war purposes, it might also be used in times of peace. His interpreter was persuaded

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
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dry season, and as this was unusual it had occasioned much comment among the Nuer. When they heard of his death a number of them at once assigned that fact as the cause of these rains.

In December 1927 there was a total eclipse of the moon which caused much alarm among the Nuer. They felt sure that it meant destruction to them and to their country, for was it not dripping blood? Later on, when the patrol was put on in part of Nuerland, they felt that it was just the fulfilment of what they had foreseen when the moon was in eclipse.

There is a saying among the Nuer that when they have plenty to eat they want to fight. That year, too, had seen a good harvest, and fight they did. There seemed to be many personal scores and old feuds that must be attended to that year, and then they declared it was all because the moon had predicted a year of trouble for them.

Not many Nuer have any conception of a country besides their own and the land occupied by a neighbouring tribe. They recognize their chief and his authority, but do not seem to realize their need of a larger, higher governing power.

Their acquaintance with this higher authority is limited. They see their cattle taken for taxes, they usually are willing to bring their difficulties to the District Commissioner to be settled; they are willing to be relieved of their physical ailments to some extent, and usually welcome the Government doctor and his trained assistants whom he sends out during the dry season.

The Nuer does not—or says he does not—see any good in paying taxes. Some of them feel that giving their cattle up for taxes is submitting without protest to a raid from a representative of another country, and they feel that if the Government can collect taxes (or raid their

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10

the birthright of perpetuating the national pride and enjoyment in the peaceful institution which afforded their forebears the most harmonious participation in the social, political, economic, and religious organisations of the tribe.

In the Kenya White Paper of July, 1923 (cmd. 1922), it was declared that: "It is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral, and economic level than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the administration of this territory." It is beyond our comprehension to see how a people can reach a so-called "higher level" while they are denied the most elementary human rights of self-expression, freedom of speech, the right to form social organisations to improve their condition, and above all, the right to move freely in their own country. These are the rights which the Gikuyu people had enjoyed from time immemorial until the arrival of the "mission of Great Britain." Instead of advancing "towards a higher intellectual, moral, and economic level," the African has been reduced to a state of serfdom; his initiative in social, economic and political structure has been denied, his spirit of manhood has been killed and he has been subjected to the most inferior position in human society. If he dares to express his opinion on any point, other than what is dictated to him, he is shouted at and black-listed as an "agitator." The tribal democratic institutions which were the boast of the country, and the proof of tribal good sense, have been suppressed. Oppressive laws and ordinances, which alone engross the monopoly of thought, of will, and of judgment, have been imposed on the African people.

In our opinion, the African can only advance to a "higher level" if he is free to express himself, to organise